

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 318 647

SO 020 490

AUTHOR Peterson, Barbara Bennett
TITLE American Historian Arthur Schlesinger's Challenge to Women Historians and Scholars.
PUB DATE 89
NOTE 36p.
PUB TYPE Information Analyses (070)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Activism; Change; Civil War (United States); Colonial History (United States); *Females; *Feminism; *Historiography; Modern History; *Social History; United States History; Womens Studies
IDENTIFIERS Schlesinger (Arthur)

ABSTRACT

In 1922, Arthur Schlesinger urged his fellow historians to write women into the history books. He recognized that the size and sweep of women's history offered scholars and students the opportunity of a new major field. His call failed to arouse skeptical minds through the 1940s and 1950s as feminism fell into disrepute. But with the resurgence of feminism in the 1960s and 1970s, scholarly interest in the female experience in U.S. history revived. By 1989, the pall of silence that had excluded the experiences of women in history by default had been replaced by scholarly, rationally fair-minded research and writing. In their drive to have women's history accepted, proponents of the field are generally professional, seldom polemical, and rely on massive documentation and carefully gleaned statistics to advocate, and to prove new themes. Individuals within the field are moving beyond the discovery of women in history and the proving stage, to the debating stage, wherein professionals in the field now argue over what new materials in women's history really mean. Some of the new themes being explored are: (1) Did the Colonial period constitute a golden age for women? (2) Was the Revolutionary War liberating for women? (3) What was the woman's role within the family in the Colonial period? (4) Was there feminist activism before the abolitionist and suffrage organizations? (5) Was Victorianism in the sense of the "cult of true womanhood" suppressive? (6) For the period between the Civil War and World War I, what was the extent of feminist participation in union activism, and did technology take women out of the home? and (7) What were the activities of women in reform movements and agencies during the Progressive period? (JB)

* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *

ED318647

SO 020 490

AMERICAN HISTORIAN ARTHUR SCHLESINGER'S
CHALLENGE TO WOMEN HISTORIANS AND SCHOLARS

Barbara Bennett Peterson, PhD
University of Hawaii

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION
CENTER (ERIC)

☒ This document has been reproduced as
received from the person or organization
originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve
reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this docu-
ment do not necessarily represent official
OERI position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS
MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Barbara
Peterson

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES
INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

AMERICAN HISTORIAN ARTHUR SCHLESINGER'S
CHALLENGE TO WOMEN HISTORIANS AND SCHOLARS

by Barbara Bennett Peterson, PhD
University of Hawaii,
Professor of History

Is there life for women's history after ERA's defeat? Recent scholars answer yes. A "pall of silence" has been cast over the subject of women in history wrote Arthur Schlesinger in 1922 in his New Viewpoints in American History as he chided his fellow historians for their ease with this scholarly void. He had judged the feminists' story to be "one of the noblest chapters in the history of democracy" and urged that their story be told by professional historians.¹ For Schlesinger the progressive, certainly the story of women in American history would support reforms to which he was personally committed. But looking beyond his political investment, Schlesinger the historian recognized that women's history offered scholars and students, regardless of their ideological stripes, the size, the sweep and the opportunity of a new major field. In his New Viewpoints he was not merely marshalling scholars to his personal myopic causes for Progressive reform; his clarion was an invitation to scholars to participate in the significant endeavor of writing women into the history books. And the new themes in women's history, which are the focus of this essay, represent the savvy acceptance of the Schlesinger appeal, the application of its inspired directive.

Schlesinger's clarion, although not a radical invocation, initially had failed to attract a wide spectrum of scholars, and those professional historians who did take up women's history, such as Charles and Mary Beard in The Rise of American Civilization, largely saw the Schlesinger invitation as opportunity for political proselytism.² Schlesinger's larger message that women's history offered opportunities for new important scholarship failed to arouse skeptical

minds through the 1940's and 1950's as feminism fell into disrepute and the post-Second World War generation appeared dominated by what sociologist Jesse Bernard called the Motherhood Mania.³ But with the resurgence of feminism in the 1960's and 1970's, scholarly interest in the female experience in American history revived, and scholars working in the field of women's history were no longer imagined to be frumps in low-heels or close to a Communist fringe. For by 1989, just as Schlesinger had known, writing women into history is to be more than political gambit or high redemptive drama. It was, and is, a question of good historical scholarship. For the pall of silence which had excluded the experiences of women in history by default, has been replaced by scholarly, rationally fairminded research and writing. Contemporary women's history is not maverick history; it is mainstream.

In its drive to be accepted, in its desire to be acceptable, knowing itself to be under the closest scrutiny, the field of women's history and its scholarly proponents are very professional, seldom polemical, relying on massive documentation and carefully gleaned statistics to venture, to advocate and to prove new themes. While women's history is still often seen and measured by fellow historians outside the field to be in the "proving itself" stage, in the sense of legitimizing itself, individuals within the field are moving beyond the discovery of women in history and the proving itself stage, to the "debating" stage, wherein professionals in the field now argue over what new materials in women's history really mean. And as Schlesinger had intended, the study of women in history has offered new insights. For in many ways, rediscovering the female experience doubles our vision, allowing us to more clearly see our collective selves. Intelligently, contemporary women's history

has added significant human and social dimensions to the traditional studies of great men, great political events and great wars; it allows us to complete the family portrait. In some instances, it simply rounds out the wholistic narrative, making it more comprehensible and believable to students and academicians alike; in other circumstances, it makes historical interpretations intellectually more honest by supplying complimentary data. And in most historical areas it asks new questions, challenging the older views, offering a new vantage point, a new perspective. Overall, women's history has been especially valuable as a new catalyst. It has provoked new ways of seeing old materials, old ideas and old methodologies and through scholarly merit convinced the historical establishment that new views relating to the female experience are worthy and warranted. Wisely, women's history does not attempt to do too much. For example, recent women historians have not fallen into the pitfalls of the past of making too much of a case for women in history as

did Mary Beard in her book titled Woman As Force in History (New York :

4

Macmillan, 1946). Beard had wanted to demolish the idea that women had not been a significant force throughout our history as she pointed to the vast numbers of women engaged in politics as delegates, keynote speakers and managers at both 1940 national party conventions, but she was naive to believe that women had wielded great power; they might be organizers, but certainly not law makers. While she wished to accentuate the positive, propelled by bias, she tended to exaggerate. Contemporary women historians have understood this, and have tried not to make the same errors in misrepresenting or misconstruing the facts. Carl Degler pointed out the absence of real power for women in the periods discussed by Beard in "Woman As Force in History by Mary Beard," Daedalus, 103, 1 Winter: 1974, 67-73. Degler, however, agreed with Beard's original premise: that history as conceived by WASP male historians looking

for triumphant power relations is too narrow . But he knew too the very real need to include the history of women through scholarship not polemics.

Degler's book At Odds: Women and the Family from the Revolution to the Present (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980) has attempted to do this and has done a great deal to legitimize women's history and to expose opposition to women's history as sexist. Degler, like Schlesinger in 1922, determined women's history, as a new field, to be important and justifiable.

Turning now to the new themes in historiography within the field⁵ of women's history, we find it richly sprouted and marvelously grown. Currently, for the Colonial period there is one central historiographical question: did the colonial period constitute a "golden age" for women? Implicit in the argument that there was a golden age is the idea that rough equality once was, but then something went wrong. The commonest explanation of what happened is to be found in industrialization. The factory system, says Joan Hoff Wilson,⁶ brutalized women; when hearth and home were divided, then women were suppressed. The golden age thesis suggested that women had rough equality with men in colonial America and a sense of pride in their handicrafts such as spinning, baking, churning, milking and butchering and that they found a quiet dignity as mistresses within their homes. They were dehumanized by the factories, said the golden age proponents, as the plight of the Lowell Mill girls suggested. This golden age thesis has been eroded by new scholarship. Mary Beth Norton in "The Myth of the Golden Age," in Berkin and Norton, eds., Women of America (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1979) said the lost utopia idea is in error, women never had rough equality with men, the golden age thesis is a myth. Carol Berkin concurs, saying spinning was boring, boring, boring and handed over to daughters⁷ as soon as possible. And the filth, the long working days and loneliness of women

cast away in the New World from their support networks, and the absence of any real control over their own lives or property certainly could not be viewed as golden or utopian in any sense. It depends of course dramatically on the questions being asked and on what it is one is investigating-the family, the power structure of society, intellectual and religious values, changes in attitudes through time, or changes in institutions such as the legal codes. But the former thesis of the golden age and its recent critique as a "myth" remains as the large scaffolding of historiographical controversy in women's colonial history wherein, scholars then focus on smaller blocks or pieces.

For example, in the colonial period let us focus in on the discussion of the legal status of women. One of the early proponents of the golden age argument was Richard B. Morris who wrote Studies in the History of Early American Law, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1930). His was a pioneering study of the legal systems of the American colonies in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries and significantly, his book contained a chapter on the legal status of women. He was almost exclusively concerned, however, with the role of the married woman, and the interests of both her husband and herself in her property, both real and personal. Since his work argued that the colonial woman achieved more legal rights than her predecessors, it should be seen as an important element in supporting the idea of the golden age. It is an important starting point for anyone interested in tracing the recent scholarship concerning the legal status of women.⁸ Sixteen years later, Mary Beard argued in her Woman As Force in History (1946) that there was a rough equality for women in the colonial period because of the courts of equity which allowed women to protect their personal property. Thus, she, like Morris, might be said to have been an

advocate of the golden age thesis, as were so many progressive historians who had sought to magnify the social evils of industrialization; the factory system, said many progressives, had destroyed the equity of women and had caused a golden period to be extinguished. Yet, the new scholarship argues that the 'golden age' for women never was. For example, Marylunn Salmon has suggested in an article titled "Equality or Submersion? Feme Covert Status in Early Pennsylvania," in Berkin and Norton eds., Women of America: A History (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1979) that feme covert status (that a woman and man become one upon marriage, and the husband is that one, legally) did not allow women equal protection under the laws nor opportunities to administer their own property. In Salmon's view, legally for women, the colonial period was not a golden age; for Morris and Beard, compared with previous periods of history or those that had followed, it, to a degree, had been.

Another large structural issue in current early American historiographical debates is the question, was the American Revolution liberating for women? Yes, explained Carol Berkin in two articles titled "Within the Conjuror's Circle: Women in Colonial America," in Thomas Frazier, ed., The Underside of American History, Vol. I (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1978) and "Remembering the Ladies: Historians and the Women of the American Revolution," in William M. Fowler and Wallace Coyle, eds., The American Revolution: New Perspectives (Laramie: Northeastern University Press, 1979). Women's roles by necessity, she said, became more varied during the war; there was open discussion, if not change in law, of women's rights, as Abigail Adams told her husband to 'remember the ladies'. A new consciousness, said Berkin, was awakened by revolutionary rhetoric; ideas had been changed. Decidedly, Linda Kerber had written in her article "Daughters of Columbia: Educating Women in the

Republic, 1787-1805," in Stanley Elkins and Erick McKittrick, eds., The Hofstadter Aegis: A Memorial (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974). After the Revolution, women were given the charge of raising "republican" children and this new responsibility, said Kerber, raised the status of women. Disagreeing, Joan Hoff Wilson said the Revolution had not been liberating for women in her article "The Illusion of Change: Women and the Revolution," in Alfred Young, ed., The American Revolution (Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1976). Wilson pointed to the fact that men still dominated positions of power after the revolution and said there were almost no articulate female advocates for women's rights. Hence, the answer as to whether the Revolution was liberating for women remains ambiguous and the question still provokes scrutiny and debate. This ambiguity over the female's condition in the post-Revolutionary period has been highlighted by Mary Beth Norton in Liberty's Daughters (New York: Little, Brown and Co., 1980). After the war, certainly woman's place was elevated by society's expectation that she be the progenitor of republican virtues, Norton said, yet, women were barely less circumscribed by patriarchal attitudes and power than before the war. True, the post-Revolutionary woman was free to inculcate the virtues of equality, but she was certainly not free to act upon or with those same virtues. What the revolution had given with one hand, it had seemed to take away with the other.

Looking too at the liberating effect of the Revolution on the status of women, Nancy Cott has done some very valuable work in relation to the availability of divorce. The Revolution, she said, aided women greatly in obtaining easier access to divorce because the effect of the war had been to liberalize the interpretation of what constituted a husband's adultery. So, yes, she advanced, in her articles "Divorce and the Changing Status of Women in 18th Century Massachusetts," William and Mary Quarterly, 33, 3rd Series, 1976,

596-614, and "Eighteenth-Century Family and Social Life Revealed in Massachusetts Divorce Records," Journal of Social History, 10, 1976, 20-43, the Revolution's impact had been liberating for women since it facilitated their access to divorce.

Important new work has also been done to amplify the woman's role within the family in colonial America.⁹ In the past, "family" history has often meant focusing on the "patriarchal" structure and values, the work patterns or voting patterns of men or the role and activities of children. To properly round out family history, the role of women, especially the role of the mother, has been given recent attention. Philip Greven's The Protestant Temperament: Patterns of Religious Experience, Childbearing and the Self in Early America (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977) attempted successfully to show how important the role of women, especially the colonial mother, had been in the family's and ultimately the children's religious orientation. His work helps to illustrate that women's history has been there all the time, waiting to be seen and recognized as valuable and underscores that women's history does not need artificial fabrication. Another new and important book which further illustrates this point is Mary Beth Norton's Liberty's Daughters, 1980, mentioned earlier. In her research methodology she recombined numerous collections of family papers from Rhode Island to North Carolina, papers formerly used as sources of history for great men such as Byrd, Shippen, Logan, Iredell, and found voluminous materials relating to women. Her book, formed from this careful gleaning, offers a compendium of women's roles in the last half of the Eighteenth Century as she describes colonial courtship, marriage, child-rearing, divorce, property rights and spinsterhood. In short, one goes looking for women's history in exactly the same places that one looks for history in general: wills, deeds, tax rolls, court records, legal statutes, church

records, newspapers, family papers and documents, almanacs, novels, poems, songs, even museum artifacts. And as Mary Beth Norton's work, and to some degree Philip Greven's illustrates, recycling old sources with a new perspective can yield fascinating and worthwhile results. Too, one can learn more about women by a closer reading of some familiar previously published works. Edmund S. Morgan's The Puritan Family (New York: Harper and Row, 1966) has a chapter devoted to "Husband and Wife," and John Demos', A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970) has a chapter similarly titled "Husbands and Wives."

Valuable demographic work has been done in relation to women's history in the colonial period especially by Robert V. Wells who wrote "Quaker marriage patterns in Colonial Perspective," which appeared in the William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd series, XXIX, 1972, 415-442. Wells investigated the marriage and family size patterns within 276 Quaker families and concluded that Quaker women, within this sample, tended to marry late, to have small families, and to have relatively long life spans. His statistical findings pose all kinds of intriguing questions that other historians might follow up. For example, was late marriage self-selected by Quaker women or was this decision dictated by economic conditions, warfare, social mobility of males within the community or by increasing or declining birth rates? Another valuable demographic study is Russell Menard's article "The Maryland Slave Population 1658-1730: A Demographic Profile of Blacks in Four Counties," which appeared in the William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd series XXXII, No. 1, 1975, 29-54. Menard used probate inventories to identify characteristics of the slave population in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Maryland. He found a declining fertility rate among the slave population in the Seventeenth Century and then this abruptly changed in the Eighteenth Century.

He correlated his findings with the fertility rates for the white population and found them similar. One reason for the increase in the slave birth rate in the Eighteenth Century, he felt, had been the concentration of land holdings, bringing slaves into closer proximity. Another reason for the increased fecundity was that a rough numerical balance had been achieved by the Eighteenth Century between male and female slaves in this region under study. But so many points in these statistical studies still tempt other historians to ask, were there not additional factors. How did improved sanitation and housing conditions, the presence of well traveled roads, economic prosperity or adversity, and other complex factors such as accommodation to the locale or the adaptation to a condition of servitude and an attitude of permanence influence the black birth rate? Cliometrics, like women's history, has entered the debating stage.

In the National period, the significant current historiographical debates revolve around the issue, was there no feminist activism before the abolitionist and suffrage organizations? If there was activism, how radical should it be judged? What social conditions allowed women to be "uppity" so early and to step out of their proper sphere? And, what forms did this feminist activism take? Just because women were not able to vote did not mean that women were not politicized, nor did it mean that there was no political activism. A woman's proper sphere in the early national period was of course still within the home striving to be the good Republican mother, shaping patriotic children. It was perhaps toward this end, or under this guise, that early forms of feminist activism begin to appear in the demand for better schools and education for both sexes. For example, Emma Willard in her proposal to the New York legislature asking for funding for a school (Troy Female Seminary) used very specific political terms, arguing for the proper facilities to mold "the character of the

children." Anne Firor Scott's article "What, Then is the American: This New Woman?" which appeared in the Journal of American History, 65:3 December, 1978, 679-703, pointed out why an early feminist like Emma Willard had been so successful; Willard had worked within the system and had conformed closely to her contemporary society's stereotypes of womanliness and femininity. Willard was bright, well educated, ambitiously restless and certainly, judged Scott, an activist before the political organizations of the abolitionists or the suffragists. It was out of this same desire to create "good republicans," that Margaret Fuller had written Woman in the Nineteenth Century, (1845) considered to be the first full length feminist work written in the United States. She advocated that women, as men, should be allowed to explore and develop their talents through education. Women should be rounded, full dimensional people, rather than one sided domestic creatures. "It is a vulgar error," she wrote, "that love, a love, to Woman is her whole existence." Human growth demands a whole existence, "a complete life." Only thus freed and educated could women perform their appointed tasks of being Republican mothers, and only thus could a woman properly mature, rather than remaining "only an overgrown child."

11

If promoting education for women was the first subtle makeup of feminist activism in the National period, a second form of activism was literary writing. An interesting article which pointed to feminist agitation in the early national literature was Ann D. Wood's "The Scribbling Women and Fanny Fern: Why Women Wrote," which appeared in the American Quarterly, Vol. XXIII, Spring, 1971, No. 1, 3-24. Wood determined that 19th Century women wrote for three basic reasons: 1) economic necessity, 2) sheer burning unladylike desire for self-expression, and, 3) shrewd competition in the literary market. One significant novel of the period titled Ruth Hall (1854), written by Fanny Fern, nom de plume of Sara Payson Willis Parton, was an example, said Wood, of all three motives and the

novel therefore was outside the carefully cultivated feminine facade of the time. Ruth Hall is the story of the developments, the difficulties, and the final success of a woman writer, penned by the fictional Fanny Fern who is clearly drawing on Parton's real journalistic experience. Nathaniel Hawthorne found Fanny to be daringly true to her personal needs, but her critics said she had betrayed her "feminine nature" and to write such a tract had been unwomanly. Ruth Hall is of great interest to us today, precisely because it was in its time "a scimiter blade of sarcasm," as Hawthorne had applauded it, and because it had appeared at a time when women were expected to be timid, lovely and passively dependent, certainly never competitive.

Much more in conventional or acceptable taste for the time was Mrs. Sarah Hale, the editor of Godey's Lady's Book, who counselled women aspiring to be well known writers to devote their time to feminine books or children's playlets. This conventionality would keep women from competing directly with men, and after all, it was argued, these women were not really leaving the home for the market place, they were merely bringing the home, and its values, into the market. These vacuous arguments offered, like the corset, only a rather confining grace. But Mrs. Hale and her period compatriot Catherine Beecher were themselves new role models for women and importantly, they were women who worked, spoke and wrote outside the home. Both women might be called social or domestic feminists. Catherine Beecher and her famous sister Harriet Beecher Stowe, published together the American Woman's Home (1869); the book was largely written by Catherine and she had dedicated the book to "the women of America in whose hands rest the real destinies of the Republic" This book, advising the housewife in all forms of domestic economy, child rearing, cooking and health, was the quintessential crescendo of the "cult of the Republican mother," but very soon these well advised, republican mothers would march out to make the virtues of the home

the virtues of the community during the Progressive period. To protect the moral virtues of the home, of all society in general, became the later guise under which women would stride forth to claim the right to vote.

Activism, then, in varying degrees, there certainly was in the early national period, but what remains to be studied are forms of activism outside the WASP middle-class mainstream. Important in this regard is Thomas Dublin's Women At Work: The Transformation of Work and Community in Lowell, Massachusetts, 1826-1860 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979). Dublin based his study on computerized research in the records of the Hamilton Manufacturing Company as well as other federal, state and local archives. His book reflected a balanced harmony between cliometrics and artful analysis as he explained both the daily tedium of the Lowell mill girls' repetitive work and their frustrations which called forth an accelerating feminist activism. The operatives at Lowell were not, he found, the passive toiling drudges historians had earlier imagined, for at Lowell there was an air of working-girl independence, even a nascent rebelliousness. Dublin explained the demographic shift at Lowell from Yankee to Irish labor and illustrated that activism was present very early and became increasingly pervasive.

Eugene Genovese in his tome Roll, Jordon Roll: The World the Slaveholders Made (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974) has also provided alternative forms of early feminist activism outside the WASP middle-class genre. Genovese has an excellent section on the Mammy in the Big House which illustrates that black slave women did indeed have strong role models and did indeed challenge the system. Genovese's portrait of the black slave experience is so poignant because it deals with the whole slave family. He placed in tandem the wily black man who provided extra food for his family by trapping or stealing edibles and

storing them under the slave cabin floor and the equally strong black woman who had been able to keep a sense of self even though she was forced to submit to rape or concubinage. Genovese appeals to us for the same reason as did Roots; it is a narrative not of individual heroes but is a saga of the entire family with the personal stories of strong men and strong women, their subjection and their rebellion, entwined. Additional and different types of activism also need to be retrieved. For example, there is still much which might be done with other ethnic groups such as the Chinese, Japanese, Filipino immigrants in states like California or Hawaii which offer geographical archives for the experiences of ethnic women in Nineteenth Century railroad towns, frontier mining camps, and sugar and pineapple plantation enclaves. Too, the female experience in the Utopian communities such as the Shaker, Amish or the Amana would be valuable, as would the Native American woman's experience of protest along the penetrable trails of tears. Activism or feminism did not just spring into being with the abolitionist and suffrage movements; activism, it is now recognized, was always there in tantalizingly yet deviant forms.

For the post-Civil War decades, one of many historiographical questions now under debate is whether Victorianism in the sense of the 'cult of true womanhood' was suppressive. Barbara Welter wrote an influential article titled "The Cult of True Womanhood," for the American Quarterly, XVIII, Summer, 1966, pt. 1, 151-174, and explained how the Victorian cult of the 'lady' had severely limited a woman's sphere by dictating piety, domesticity, purity and submission as proper female behavior. Welter's article had accepted the traditional notion that the Victorian woman was a delicate and ailing creature given to headaches, swoons and faints who often took to her bed suffering from hysteria. For Welter, the cult of true womanhood, which seemed to be a universally accepted credo, epitomized a very confining

Victorian refinement. But historians soon began to take exception to the pervasiveness of the 'cult of true womanhood' or the 'cult of the lady'. Gerda Lerner's article "The Lady and the Mill Girl," in Midcontinent American Studies Journal, 10, Spring, 1969, 5-14, emphasized that the cult had been largely restricted to middle and upper class women; lower class women had flocked to industrial jobs out of economic necessity and had neither the time, money, energy nor the inclination to be a 'lady'. Recently, scholars have continued the theme of Lerner, advancing that even among the middle and upper class women the cult was neither as pervasive nor as limiting as was once believed. In stating their arguments, recent historians have explicated early forms of feminism or activism which illustrate that the late Nineteenth Century woman sought to control her own life, her own person. For example, Robert V. Wells' article "Women's Lives Transformed: Demographic and Family Patterns in America, 1600-1970," in Berkin and Norton, eds., Women of America (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1979) suggests the Victorian woman was taking control of her own body by using contraceptive devices much earlier than had previously been known. The birth rate dropped dramatically in America between the 1850's and the 1880's and not just because of the Civil War, he said, but because of the fairly high average age of first marriage, women taking jobs before marriage, better sanitation conditions to lower the infant mortality rate and importantly, the deliberate use of contraception.

In another vein, Lois Banner continued investigating the theme that Victorianism was not as confining as we had once imagined. Expanding her themes advanced in Women in Modern America (1974), she engaged in research on women's fashions and on the lives of actresses which seems to reveal that women "rebelled" in various ways throughout the Victorian period. For example, women, she advanced, "flirted openly" in the 1840's and 1850's; corsets were originally called "beau catchers,"

and many women openly "vamped" before the Civil War. In the 1850's and the 1860's women wore cosmetics, but in the 1880's a proper woman did not. Was this shift in rouging and painting due to the purity crusade, she wonders, or simply due to a change in fashion. "Vamping," "flirting," and the open use of cosmetics, she believes, are all forms of self-possessed activism in the early Victorian period and the behavior of the spunky demoiselle departed widely it seems from the rather melancholy and sickly caricature of the Victorian 'lady'. Banner pointed to the importance of the theatre in the post-Civil War period as the theatre was one of the evidences of civic pride; to have an opera house in town was a symbol of being cultured. Significantly, it was the actresses, not the actors, she said, who had great public followings. This explains the phenomenon of stage door Johnnies, some of whom were extremely well-to-do men. Local women themselves went to the theatre, especially to the matinees, so actresses became a new kind of role model in the 1880's and 1890's. The cart de visit appeared very early too. These were calling cards with pictures of one's favorite actress on them, and the cards were very popular with men as a form of public sensuality. And certainly very early in the history of the theatre there were "stars" such as Lillian Russel, Lily Langtry and Sarah Bernhardt who, explained Banner, became models of the liberated woman. For example, Lily Langtry ran three miles a day to keep her figure in trim and was the mistress of Edward of England in the 1890's. A kind of Cinderella mythology settled about the "stars" and even the chorus girls, especially the flora-dora girls of the Casino Theatre in New York around 1900. There was a very famous flora-dora sextet (six women and six men) and all six of the women married millionaires. This world of glamour was an early form, said Banner, of feminist activism, although the actresses did not consider themselves feminists.¹³

Another recent study which continues the theme that Victorianism was not as suppressive as was formerly thought is Nancy Cott's article "Passionlessness: An Interpretation of Victorian Ideology, 1790-1850," Signs 4, 1978, 219-236. Victorian women claimed a moral superiority based on their "passionlessness," and now controlled their carnal sexual impulses which remained yet untamed in the bestial male. This claim of moral superiority, she said, in a variation on Lionel Tiger's book Male Bonding, was the thrust behind the bonds of Victorian sisterhood or female networking wherein women expressed their spiritual affection for one another through 'love' letters, meaning support letters written in the style of the day. Far from confining, the claim to moral superiority allowed the Victorian lady to reap self-esteem, explained Cott, and to develop her human faculties. Feminists would eventually employ the moral superiority argument to lobby for votes for women and for the moral improvement of the community. Thus, Victorian ideology--the belief in the moral superiority of women--was used for activism. Feminine morality, even the promotion of the 'cult of the Lady' itself, became yet another guise under which activism could set to work to bring
14
the virtues of the home to the "progressive" community.

For the Civil War to 1914 period, many additional historiographical questions are being asked. For example, did technology actually take women out of the home? What was the quality of work participation within the economy of ethnic women? What was the extent of feminist participation in union activism? And out of
15
these numerous concerns there is emerging another major debate, larger in scale than the previous debate over the 'cult of true womanhood'. The new concern is how feminist reform groups influenced Progressive political goals. Did women seeking the right to vote politicize themselves deliberately along Progressive lines and work within Progressive reform organizations because they were morally
16
humane or because they were shrewd politicians? Conversely, did Progressive

politicians advocate women's rights so that they could claim a mantle of
 morality?¹⁷

Anne Firor Scott cogently surveyed the panorama of historical research and noted that the activities of women in reform movements and agencies during the Progressive period is now one of the largest areas for valuable new research¹⁸ in the field of women's history. We know for example that the Women's Christian Temperance Union was not concerned merely with the excesses of drink. In Alabama and Georgia, says Anne Firor Scott, the WCTU took the point position in fighting the convict labor system and nationally the WCTU advocated dress reform and exercise for women, encouraged education in child care and lobbied for kindergarten in the public schools. The organization's concerns extended to agitation for police matrons to serve women prisoners, for protective safety and child labor laws and for a reduction in the working hours of labor. Women and women's groups did not confine themselves merely to the suffrage cause and social work; feminists pop up everywhere doing research behind the scenes for organizations like the male-dominated Urban League and lent their energies to the female-dominated organizations like the YWCA, the DAR, the Association of Collegiate Alumnae and the National Council of Women. All of these involvements, like the lives of the working actresses, give lie to the idea of the shy, retiring, cloistered Victorian 'lady'. With a clearer perspective of the involvements of women in the Progressive period, historians may dismantle the "status revolution" thesis of Richard Hofstadter in The Age of Reform (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955) which had explained the Progressive reformers as conservative, middle-class men anxious to be restored to their former positions of influence. The status-revolution idea simply does not fit the female experience. Likewise, the thesis of Gabriel Kolko in The Triumph of Conservatism (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1968) which suggested that conservative business interests seized control of government

during the Progressive period to achieve rationality, predictability and security in the face of restive competition, may be cast down as women's reforming machinations become better known. The reforming goals of women seem very different from the goals of Kolko's political capitalists.

For the time span since the 1920's, in historiography there are the familiar issues of women's role during the Depression, involvements in the Second World War effort and the newer theme of the contributions in the con-
 19
 temporary work force. But the really new and critical historiographical theme since the Second World War focuses on the origins of neo-feminism in the late 1960's and 1970's. Sara Evans sought to explain neo-feminist origins in Personal Politics: The Roots of Women's Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left (New York: Vintage, 1979). She based her conclusions on her personal involvement with the New Left Movement of the 1960's and on sixty-eight oral interviews with individuals who had participated in The Movement. Stressing the Church as the source of southern women's civil rights radicalization, and the South as a model for the New Left in the North, she explored the reasons why women had become dissatisfied with the male segments of the New Left between 1964 and 1967. Similar to Robin Morgan's thesis in Sisterhood is Powerful (New York: Vintage, 1970), Evans concluded that women within the Movement had come to view New Left radical men to be as sexist as those elements of society which they opposed or with which they had value confrontations. Hence, women in large numbers withdrew from the New Left and formed their own Women's Liberation groups. Neo-feminism began in the leftist organizations of the 1960's, concluded Evans, when women had bonded together after perceiving
 20
 the commonality of their exploitation.

This thesis departs from the older, familiar view of Betty Friedan. Women after the Second World War, Friedan had written in the Feminine Mystique (New York: Norton, 1963) were persuaded by the media and slick advertising, by Freudian psychologists and by social conventions to remain at home, engaged in housewifery, nurturing their children and caring for their men. But the women she interviewed were suffering from a vague malaise, the "problem that has no name," which was a lack of personal identity, self-esteem and a sense of self-worth. Women, she believed, had been duped through a cruel hoax into believing they were wonderful and happy in domesticity. The by now familiar scenario then developed regarding the origin of neo-feminism: women had read Friedan's book, had been radicalized and subsequently launched the Women's Liberation Movement. As valuable as this scenario was in explaining the evolution of the 'older' neo-feminist of the late 1960's, many historians in the field of women's history now find it too simplistic. Some look to the dissatisfied elements within the New Left movement as Evans had done; others, like Jo Freeman in The Politics of Women's Liberation: A Case of an Emerging Social Movement and Its Relation to the Policy Process (New York: David McKay Co., 1975) synthesize the importance of Friedan's impact with the more radical, youthful neo-feminists from the Left. Others like Christopher Lasch in The Culture of Narcissism (New York: Norton, 1978) have attempted to link Women's Liberation with the "Me-decade," or what he termed a cultural self-absorption or personal narcissism. While his conclusion about the origins of neo-feminism may be entirely erroneous, it is certainly provocative, keeping this historiographical question taut.

In the near future perhaps more will be done with the intriguing intellectual question, was the 'feminine mystique' of the late 1940's and 1950's as suppressive as we have been led to believe? The answer to this question has implications for

all the historical periods just discussed in the historiographical overview. For just as women earlier had been convinced to become good Republican mothers and then lovely Victorian ladies, followed by the idealized Gibson girl and later the high-spirited Flapper, women after the Second World War had supposedly been persuaded to become again the good republican wife who ascribed to the feminine mystique (that her central concerns were her children, home and husband). But just as the 'cult of true womanhood' or the ideal of the Victorian 'lady' in the Nineteenth Century had been ideals from which realities had sometimes departed, perhaps the 'feminine mystique' was also just an ideal. Was there a divergence from the confinement of the feminine mystique in reality? Recent scholarship says yes. Valerie Oppenheimer's work titled The Female Labor Force in the United States: Demographic and Economic Factors Governing Its Growth and Changing Composition (Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, University of California, 1970) shows a steady, ever gradual increase in female labor force participation from 1900 to 1940 (with a major increase in 1940) and a continuous growth through 1960. It is true however that the jobs available to women were viewed as "women's jobs," some very menial, but still greater and greater numbers of women have continued to enter the labor market. And, importantly, they did so, her figures suggest, all during the period supposedly subjected to the feminine mystique. Demographically it appears that ever increasing numbers of women did not stay at home. Thus, it appears that while the feminine mystique was very real and believed as an ideology, as a cult, it was an ideal from which the real work experience of women departed, dictated largely by economic necessity.

Are these periodic cults merely mesmerizing luxuries or something more? How and why do these cults like the 'cult of the lady' or the 'feminine mystique'

come about? They are so similar in tone and so cyclical in their appearance, can we say that they emerge after wars, as with the cult of the Republican mother after the Revolution, the Victorian lady after the Civil War, the Flapper after the First World War, the Happy Housewife Heroine after the Second World War, and recently the non-combative New Woman entering, after the turbulence of the Sixties and Seventies, what Betty Friedan has called The Second Stage (New York: Summit, 1981), or the harmony of the dual-career family. Surely these are ideals, from which reality must depart. And just as we have been misled about the absence of activism within the female experience throughout American history, so too, now we may be misled about the presence of acquiescence to trendy, behavioral cults. For example Betty Friedan in The Second Stage has described the new cult of the Superwoman to be as oppressive as the cult of the feminine mystique that their mothers worked so urgently to escape. The new "problem" is "must-can-women now meet a standard of perfection in the workplace set in the past by and for men who had wives to take care of all the details of living and- at the same time- meet a standard of performance at home and as mothers that was set in the past by women whose whole sense of worth, power and mastery had to come from being perfect, all-controlling housewives and mothers?" Plainly, Friedan says, the answer is no: She cannot keep juggling, trying to get it all together, the many priorities of her life without support; "the family, she argues, is the new feminist frontier." Rather than trying to be a Superwoman, or opting out of marriage and having children in order to pursue a fulltime career up the corporate ladder, or fleeing the competitive arena entirely to escape to the illusionary safe harbor of marriage without outside employment, she argues for new patterns, choices, alternatives to be worked out within the family. The dual career pattern will, she argues, actually strengthen familial bonds and enlarge equality, making it livable for men and women alike. "Its

somehow necessary to transcend reaction- instead of continuing to play out the Superwoman game, in home and/or office in order to cope with realities, personally and politically. Or else could we exhaust the energy necessary to restructure home and work ...in the sheer fatigue, bitterness and lonely disillusionment of women discovering they can't make it as Superwomen, and retreating in dismay from equality itself?" Betty Friedan did not criticize the woman's movement in order to save it. She recognizes the sterility of equality without shared love, success without someone to share it, and the loneliness of accomplishment without familial praise. And she recognized the cycles of feminine-feminist behavior, warning that to tilt the seesaw in either direction too far was to err.

But regardless of the acceptance or the rejection of cult behavior or values, why do the cults themselves appear? What do the cults themselves mean or provide? Perhaps these cults represent a regenerative biological nesting urge or the psychic need for tranquility after turmoil within the safe harbor of the family, as all of the cults seem to come in on the restorative tides of conflict's aftermath. Or perhaps the contrived glorification of woman in these various cults is a symbolic reach for a Madonna figure in the sense of Henry Adams praising the Virgin when the Dynamo (representing technology) seemed out of control. Perhaps these feminine cults represent a nostalgia for a simpler past where, it is imagined, everything had its proper place, and where, again, however fanciful, everything including women, had been brought under control. Are the cults society's pain killers, reappearing after spasms of unease when atonement manifests itself in the institutionalization of an ideal mother, wife, young lady,

because these figures signify virtue, and a woman possessed is virtue possessed. Certainly the cults are a means of social control fashioned largely by men but ascribed to, as an ideal, if not in practice, by women as well. The cults seem to function as an anodyne for society as it shifts from intense activity to a slower pace, and to rationalize this gearing down. One can be assured that Friedan's placid second stage ideal recommends modal behavior soon to be outmoded. Feminism has entered only a resting phase and the well will soon again be refilled. The familiar credo of activism will begin anew, in predictive cycle.

Predicting the future by using history as a tool was an intellectual exercise that Arthur Schlesinger would have approved of, when he stated in 1922 "...the facts of our history need to be raked over from a new point of view...women are today standing upon the threshold of a new era in the history of their sex, and whatever affects the status of woman in America will affect the entire people of which they are so intimately a part."²¹ The questions and academic challenges he posed, still linger, his invitation to write the proper role of women into the history books, still remains. One can hear his echo in contemporary women scholars' call for well-balanced history and polyphonic historiography, the lodestars of good scholarship.

FOOTNOTES

1. Arthur Schlesinger, New Viewpoints in American History (New York, 1922), 126-7.
2. Charles and Mary Beard, The Rise of American Civilization (New York, 1930);
Mary Beard, On Understanding Women (New York, 1931) and America Through Women's Eyes (New York, 1934).
3. Jessie Bernard, "The Status of Women in Modern Patterns of Culture," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science CCCLXXV (January, 1968): 3-14.
4. See also Mary Beard, America Through Women's Eyes (New York, 1934).
5. For discussions of the diverse problems and approaches within women's history see Gerda Lerner, "New Approaches to the Study of Women in History," Journal of Social History III (Fall, 1969): 53-62 and Gerda Lerner, "Women's Rights and American Feminism," The American Scholar XL (Spring, 1971): 235-48.
6. Joan Hoff Wilson, "The Illusion of Change: Women and the Revolution," in Alfred Young ed., The American Revolution (Dekalb, Illinois, 1976).
7. Mary Beth Norton, "The Myth of the Golden Age," in Carol R. Berkin and Mary Beth Norton eds., Women of America, A History (Boston, 1979), 34-47.
8. See also the following works related to the legal status of women in colonial America: Henry S. Cohen, "Connecticut's Divorce Mechanism: 1636-1969," American Journal of Legal History 14 (January, 1970): 35-54; Matteo Spalletta, "Divorce in Colonial New York," New York Historical Society Quarterly 39 (October, 1955): 422-440. And a chapter in Julia C. Spruill's Women's Life and Work in the Southern Colonies (New York, 1972 rev.ed.) titled "Under the Law" is valuable as is K. Kelley Weisberg, "'Under Greet Temptations Heer': Woman and Divorce in Puritan Massachusetts," Feminist Studies 2 (Nos. 2 and 3, 1975): 183.

9. Additional sources related to the colonial family and the role of women therein are: Lois Greene Carr and Lorena Walsh, "The Planter's Wife: The Experience of White Women in 17th Century Maryland," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd series XXXIV (October, 1977): 542-571; Lester H. Cohen, "Explaining the Revolution: Mercy Otis Warren's Historical Theory," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd series XXXVII (April, 1980): 179-218; John Faraghen, "Old Women and Old Men in Seventeenth Century Wethersfield, Connecticut," Women's Studies IV, 1976, 11-31; Alexander Keyssar, "Widowhood in 18th Century Massachusetts: A Problem in the History of the Family," Perspectives in American History VIII, 1974, 83-119; Alan Kulikoff, "The Origin of Afro-American Society in Tidewater Maryland and Virginia, 1700-1790," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd series XXXV (April, 1978): 226-259; Edmund Morgan, Virginians at Home: Family Life in the Eighteenth Century (Williamsburg, 1952); Darret B. and Anita H. Rutman, " 'New Wives and Sons in Law' : Parental Death in Seventeenth Century Virginia County," in Thad W. Tate and David Ammerman, eds., The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century (Durham, 1979), 153-182; Nancy F. Cott, The Bonds of Womanhood (New Haven, 1977); Carol Berkin, Women in the American Revolution (New York, 1976); Walter H. Blumenthal, Women Camp Followers of the American Revolution (New York, 1952); Daniel Scott Smith, "Parental Power and Marriage Patterns," Journal of Marriage and the Family XXXV, 1973, 426.
10. Other valuable sources relating the activities of women during the early National period are the following: Education: David F. Allmendinger, Jr., "Mount Holyoke Students Encounter the Need for Life Planning, 1837-1850," History of Education Quarterly 19 (Spring, 1979): 27-44; Richard M. Bernard and Maris A. Vinovskis, "The Female School Teacher in Ante-Bellum Massachusetts,"

Journal of Social History X (Spring, 1977): 332-345; Jill Conway, "Perspectives on the History of Women's Education in the United States," History of Education Quarterly XIV (Spring, 1974): 1-12; Edmund Fuller, Prudence Crandell: An Incident of Racism in Nineteenth Century Connecticut (Middletown, 1971); Linda Kerber, Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America (Chapel Hill, 1981); Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "Beauty, the Beast, and the Militant Woman," American Quarterly XXIII (October, 1971): 562-585; Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations Between Women in Nineteenth Century America," Signs 1 (Autumn, 1975): 1-29; Jacqueline Jones, "Women Who Were More Than Men: Sex and Status in Freedmen's Teaching," History of Education Quarterly 19 (Spring, 1979): 47-59; Elaine Kendall, Peculiar Institutions: An Informal History of the Seven Sisters Colleges (New York, 1976). Work: Edith Abbott, Women in Industry (New York, 1909); Rosalyn Baxandall et al., eds., America's Working Women (New York, 1976); Benita Elsher, ed., The Lowell Offering: Writings by New England Mill Women, 1840-1845 (Philadelphia, 1977); Philip Foner, The Factory Girls (Chicago, 1977); Lucy Larcom, An Idyl of Work (Boston, 1895) and A New England Girlhood (New York, reprinted, 1961); Hannah Josephson, Golden Threads: New England's Mill Girls and Magnates (New York, 1949); David Montgomery, "The Working Classes of the Pre-Industrial American City, 1780-1830," Labor History IX (Winter, 1968): 3-22; Barbara Wertheimer, We Were There: The Study of Working Women in America (New York, 1977). Frontier: John Mack Faragher, Women and Men on the Overland Trail (New Haven, 1979); Julie Jeffrey, Frontier Women: The Trans-Mississippi West, 1840-1880 (New York, 1979); John D. Unruh, Jr., The Plains Across: The Overland Emigrants and the Trans-Mississippi West, 1840-1860 (Urbana, 1979); Richard A. Bartlett, The New Country:

- A Social History of the American Frontier, 1776-1890 (New York, 1974); Adade Mitchell Wortman, The Roads They Made: Women in Illinois History (Chicago, 1977).
11. Margaret Fuller, Woman in the Nineteenth Century (New York, 1971 rev.ed.), 176-177.
 12. Additional sources which illuminate the experiences of slave women in the Nineteenth Century are John Blassingame, ed., Slave Testimony: Two Centuries of Letters, Speeches (Baton Rouge, 1977); Robert Myers, ed., The Children of Pride (New Haven, 1972); Robert Starobin, ed., Blacks in Bondage: Letters of American Slaves (New York, 1974); George P. Rawick, ed., The American Slave (Westport, Conn., 1972); Randal Miller, ed., Dear Master, Letters of a Slave Family (Ithaca, 1978); Bert J. Lowenberg and Ruth Bogin, eds., Black Women in Nineteenth Century American Life (University Park, Penn., 1976); Dorothy Sterling, Black Foremothers: Three Lives (New York, 1979); Jeffrey Crow, The Black Experience in Revolutionary North Carolina (Raleigh, 1977); Richard Dunn, "A Tale of Two Plantations, 1799-1828," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd series XXXIV (January, 1977): 32-65; Robert Fogel and Stanley Engerman, "Recent Findings in the Study of Slave Demography and Family Structure," Sociology and Social Research, Vol. 63, 1979, 566-589; Philip Foner and Ronald Lewis, eds., The Black Worker From Colonial Times to 1869 (Philadelphia, 1978); Claudia Dale Goldin, Urban Slavery in the American South, 1820-1860: A Quantitative History (Chicago, 1976); Herbert G. Gutman, The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom (New York, 1976); Gerald W. Mullin, Flight and Rebellion (New York, 1972); Leslie Howard Owens, This Species of Property (New York, 1976).
 13. Lois Banner addressing the Woodrow Wilson Institute on Women in American History at Princeton University, July, 1980.

14. For additional sources linking morality and progressive reform see the following books related to prostitution, the purity crusade, prohibition and women's changing perceptions of their sexuality: Jane Addams, A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil (New York, 1912); Eric Anderson, "Prostitution and Social Justice: Chicago, 1910-1915," Social Science Review 48 (June, 1974): 203-228; Egal Feldman, "Prostitution, the Alien Woman, and the Progressive Imagination, 1910-1915," American Quarterly XIX (Summer, 1967): 192-206; Roy Lubove, "The Progressives and the Prostitute," The Historian XXIV (May, 1962): 308-330; Cy Martin, Whiskey and Wild Women, An Amusing Account of the Saloons and the Bawds of the Old West (New York, 1974); Clifford G. Roe, ed., The Great War on White Slavery (New York, 1979); Ruth Rosen and Sue Davidson, eds., The Maimie Papers (New York, 1977); William Sanger, M.D., The History of Prostitution (New York, 1897); Lucie Cheng-Hirata, "Chinese Immigrant," in Carol Berkin and Mary Beth Norton, eds., Women of America (Boston, 1979): 223-241; Carl Degler, "What Ought to Be and What Was: Women's Sexuality in the Nineteenth Century," American Historical Review 79 (December, 1974): 1467-90; James C. Mohr, Abortion in America: The Origins and Evolution of National Policy, 1800-1900 (New York, 1978); G.J. Barker-Benfield, The Horrors of the Half Known Life: Male Attitudes Toward Women and Sexuality in Nineteenth Century America (New York, 1976); James H. Timberlake, Prohibition and the Progressive Movement, 1900-1920 (Cambridge, 1963); David J. Pivar, Purity Crusade: Social Morality and Social Control, 1868-1900 (Westport, Conn., 1973); James Reed, From Private Vice to Public Virtue: The Birth Control Movement and American Society Since 1830 (New York, 1978).
15. For Additional sources on women and labor activism, women in the work force generally, the impact of new technologies on women and the part-

icipation of ethnic women in the marketplace, see the following: Milton Cantor and Bruce Laurie, Sex, Class and the Woman Worker (Westport, Conn., 1977); David M. Katzman, Seven Days A Week: Women and Domestic Service in Industrializing America (New York, 1967); Dorothy Richardson, The Long Day (New York, 1905); Maxine Sellers, "Beyond the Sterotype," Journal of Ethnic Studies (Spring, 1975): 59-70; Robert Smuts, Women and Work in America (New York, 1971); Sharon Harley and Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, eds., The Afro-American Woman: Struggles and Images (Port Washington, 1978); Virginia Yans-McLoughlin, Family and Community: Italian Immigrants in Buffalo (Ithaca, 1971); Margery Davies, "Woman's Place is at the Typewriter: The Feminization of the Clerical Labor Force," Radical America 8 (July-August, 1974): 1-28; Dee Garrison, "The Tender Technicians," in Lois Banner and Mary Hartman eds., Clio's Consciousness Raised: New Perspectives on the History of Women (New York, 1974); Barbara Harris, Beyond Her Sphere: Women and the Professions in American History (Westport, Conn., 1978); Margaret W. Rossiter, "Women Scientists in America Before 1920," American Scientist 62 (May-June, 1974): 312-323; Irene D. Neu, "The Jewish Business Woman in America," American Jewish Historical Quarterly LXVI (September, 1976): 137-154; Frank Stricker, "Cookbooks and Law Books, The Hidden History of Career Women in Twentieth Century America," Journal of Social History 10 (Fall, 1976) : 1-19.

16. For excellent sources on female lobbying activities to secure reform legislation and for the intricacies of the suffrage movement see the following: Allen Davis, American Heroine: The Life and Legend of Jane Addams (New York, 1973); Jane Addams, Twenty Years at Hull House (New York, 1910); J. Stanley Lemons, "Social Feminism in the 1920's: Progressive Women and Industrial Legislation," Labor History 14, 1973, 83-91; C.K. McFarland, "Crusade for

Child Laborers: Mother Jones and the March of the Mill Children,"

Pennsylvania History 38, 1971, 283-296; John W. Furlow, Jr., "Cornelia

Bryce Pinchot: Feminism in the Post-Suffrage Era," Pennsylvania History

43, 1976, 329-346; Ralph Scharnau, "Elizabeth Morgan Crusades for Labor

Reform," Labor History, 14, 1973, 340-351; Anne Firor Scott, "After Suffrage:

Southern Women in the 1920's," Journal of Southern History XXX, 1964, 298-

318; William L. O'Neill, Everyone Was Brave: The Rise and Fall of Feminism

in America (Chicago, 1969); Aileen S. Kraditor, The Ideas of the Woman

Suffrage Movement, 1890-1920 (New York, 1965); David Morgan, Suffragists and

Democrats: The Politics of Woman Suffrage in America (East Lansing, Michigan,

1972).

17. David P. Thelen, The New Citizenship: Origins of Progressivism in Wisconsin, 1885-1900 (Columbia, Missouri, 1972).
18. Anne Firor Scott addressing the Woodrow Wilson Institute on Women in American History at Princeton University, July, 1980.
19. The new work relating the female experience during the Depression, the Second World War and within the contemporary work scene are numerous and varied, yet some of the most outstanding should be recommended as follows: Julia Kirk Blackwelder, "Women in the Work Force: Atlanta, New Orleans and San Antonio, 1930-1940," Journal of Urban History IV (May, 1978): 331-358; Caroline Bird, The Invisible Scar: The Great Depression and What it Did to American Life, From Then Until Now (New York, 1966); Jeane Westin, Making Do: How Women Survived the 1930's (Chicago: 1976); Lois Scharf, To Work or To Wed: Female Employment, Feminism, and the Great Depression (Westport, Conn., 1980); Winifred D. Wandersee Bolin, "The Economics of Middle Income Family Life: Working Women During the Great Depression," Journal of American

History 65 (June, 1978): 60-74; Joseph Lash, Eleanor: The Years Alone (New York, 1973); Ruth Milkman, "Women's Work and the Economic Crisis," in Nancy Cott and Elizabeth Pleck, eds., A Heritage of Her Own (New York, 1979); Marjorie Rosen, Popcorn Venus: Women, Movies and the American Dream (New York, 1974); Studs Terkle, Hard Times: An Oral History of the Great Depression in America (New York, 1970); Allen Clive, "Women Workers in World War II," Labor History XX (Winter, 1979): 44-72; Paddy Quick, "Rosie the Riveter: Myths and Realities," Radical America IX (July-October, 1975): 115-131; Leila Rupp, Mobilizing Women for War: German and American Propaganda 1939-1945 (Princeton, 1978); Karen Skold, "The Job He Left Behind: American Women in the Shipyards During World War II," in Carol R. Berkin and Clara M. Lovett, eds., Women, War and Revolution (New York, 1980); Eleanor Straub, "U.S. Government Policy Toward Civilian Women During World War II," Prologue V (Winter, 1973): 240-254; Joan Ellen Trey, "Women in the War Economy: World War II," Review of Radical Political Economics IV (July, 1972): 40-57; Roy Hoppes, Americans Remember: The Home Front (New York, 1977). For materials related to women in the modern work force see the following: Barbara R. Bergman and Irma Adelman, "The 1973 Report of the President's Council of Economic Advisors: The Economic Role of Women," The American Economic Review LXIII (September, 1973): 509-514; W. Wilbur Bock, "Farmers' Daughter Effect: The Case of the Negro Female Professional," Phylon 30 (Spring, 1979); Sidney Cornelia Callahan, The Working Mother (New York, 1971); Jean C. Darian, "Factors Influencing the Rising Labor Force Participation Rates of Married Women with Pre-School Children," Social Science Quarterly 56 (March, 1976): 614-630; Cynthia Fuchs Epstein, "Black and Female: The Double Whammy," Psychology Today 3 (August, 1973); Victor R.

Fuchs, "Recent Trends and Long-Run Prospects for Female Earnings," The American Economic Review LXIV (May, 1974): 236-242; Louise Kapp Howe, Pink Collar Workers (New York, 1977); Shelia B. Kamerman, "Work and Family in Industrialized Society," Signs 4 (Summer, 1979): 632-650; Burton G. Malkiel and Judith A. Malkiel, "Male-Female Pay Differentials in Professional Employment," The American Economic Review LXIII (September, 1973): 693-705; Harriet B. Presser and Wendy Baldwin, "Child Care as a Constraint on Employment: Prevalence, Correlates and Bearing on the Work and Family Nexes," American Journal of Sociology 85 (March, 1980): 1202-1213; Donald Allen Robinson, "Two Movements in Pursuit of Equal Employment Opportunity," Signs 4, 3, (Spring, 1979): 413-433; Myra H. Strober, "Wife's Labor Forces Behavior and Family Consumption Patterns," The American Economic Review 67 (February, 1979): 410-417; Wendy C. Wolf and Neil D. Fligstein, "Sexual Stratification: Differences in Power in the Work Setting," Social Forces 58 (September, 1979): 94-107; Marra Komarovsky, Blue Collar Marriage (New York, 1964); Juanita Kreps, Sex in the Marketplace: American Women at Work (Baltimore, 1971).

20. Additional recent sources on the goals and origins of Neo-Feminism are the following: Susan C. Nicholas et al., Rights and Wrongs: Women's Struggle for Legal Equality (Old Westbury, New York, 1979); Susan Brownmiller, Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape (New York, 1975); Joan Cassell, A Group Called Women: Sisterhood and Symbolism in the Feminist Movement (New York, 1977); Karen DeCrow, Sexist Justice (New York, 1974); Leo Kanowitz, ed., Sex Roles in Law and Society: Cases and Materials (Albuquerque, 1973); Peggy Lamson, In the Vanguard: Six American Women in Public Life (Boston, 1979); Gerda Lerner, The Female Experience: An American Documentary (Indianapolis, 1977);

Albie Sachs and Joan Hoff Wilson, Sexism and the Law: A Study of Male Beliefs and Legal Bias in Britain and the United States (Oxford, 1978);

William A. Blakey, "Everybody Makes the Revolution: Some Thoughts on Racism and Sexism," Civil Rights Digest 6 no. 3 (Spring, 1974): 10-19; Toni Cade, ed., The Black Woman: An Anthology (New York, 1970); Johnnetta B. Cole,

"Black Women in America: An Annotated Bibliography," Black Scholar 3, No. 4 (December, 1971): 42-53; Michele Wallace, Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman (New York, 1979).

21. Schlesinger, New Viewpoints in American History, p. 126; p. 157.